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GIVEN IN HONOR OF HIS PARENTS, THEIR SIMPLICITY
SINCERITY AND FEARLESSNESS

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

ROBERT BARCLAY.

"And with your children's children will I plead." *Jer. cap. ii. v.* 9

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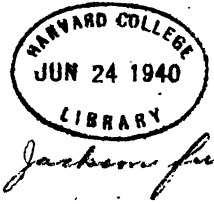

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TO

The Descendants of Robert Barclay.

MY DEAR RELATIONS,

HAVING observed with concern, how widely several of my honourable grandfather's descendants have deviated from the path in which he found it his duty to walk, and both by example and precept to recommend; I employed a friend to collect every thing that had been published respecting him, and which was worthy of notice, in order to leave among you, by way of legacy; hoping that such an account might stimulate to serious self-examination.

I am now in the seventy-fourth year of my age, and I believe there are nearly two hundred

and fifty of you, who call me uncle: and, as the poet Shenstone said, I would claim kindred to the fortieth generation.

In the course of my experience, I have seen repeated examples in our society of harm to its members by deviating from its wise rules, and good practices; sometimes they have occasioned much pain to themselves, when they have thought right to step back again. In other instances they have made but an inconsiderable figure in the estimation of wise men of other persuasions.

By perusing the following little tract, you will see our Ancestor's conduct and character; how he laboured, and how he suffered for the cause which he thought a right one; and I particularly recommend to your perusal, his Catechism and his Apology:—and whilst mentioning the writings of ROBERT BARCLAY,

I do not forget to recommend the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures, which I believe, are able to make "wise unto salvation through "faith which is in Christ Jesus." Many of you know, that it has been my practice for many years, to have a portion of them read daily in my family. I wish it was more generally done in others; instead of spending much precious time very unprofitably and hurtfully, in the perusal of productions which often undermine every sentiment of religion.

With fervent desires for your advancement and preservation in the best things; and that, the following publication may prove of advantage to the present and future generations, I affectionately bid you farewel.

DAVID BARCLAY.

Walthamstow, Essex,
30th of the Tenth month, 1801.

SOME

ACCOUNT, &c.

ALTHOUGH the memory of ROBERT BARCLAY is not likely to perish, it seems desirable to add one more memorial to those already existing: chiefly for the purpose of bringing into a narrow compass, a view of his life and labours, and of furnishing many of his numerous descendants, whose usual avocations do not lead them to the study of his writings and character, with a portrait of their honorable predecessor, which may excite their admiration, engage their esteem, and, if possible, induce their imitation.

Imitation, indeed, as it is not the source of virtue, so neither can it be virtue's support; yet the examples of pious men in preceding ages are encouragements to the pious of the present, and are a call upon such who have not yet arrived at equal degrees of spiritual attainment, to examine the nature of the obstruction. Seeing, "The same Lord over all is rich unto "all that call upon him," we must, probably, seek in ourselves for the cause of the difference which we observe; and should we be persuaded in earnest to make proof of his riches, goodness, and mercy, by calling upon him, in an humble sense of our misery and want,—a want which no other riches can supply—we shall find it no disgrace to our character, to be found "followers of them who through "faith and patience inherit the promises."

There are three general views in which we may survey the life of ROBERT BARCLAY. We may first trace his origin, survey his youth

and education, and observe his progress to that eminence in religious stability to which he arrived; in the next place the events of his short, but well-spent life may be reviewed; and, lastly, we may naturally advert to the catalogue of his excellent writings: in which, with others of the faithful Friends of the age in which he lived, he "being dead yet speaketh."*

ROBERT BARCLAY was born at Gordonstoun† in the shire of Murray, the 23d of December (then the tenth month) 1648. William Penn has mentioned Edinburgh as his birth place; but his family esteem this to be an error. ‡ His lineal ancestors are traced back, by unquestionable documents, to Theobald de Berkeley, who lived in the reign of David I. king of Scotland. This king came to the

* Motto to the Collection of his Works.

† Memoirs of the life of Col. D. Barclay of Urie, and of his eldest son R. Barclay of Urie, p. 31.

‡ Genealogical Account of the Barclays of Urie, &c.

throne in 1124, and was consequently contemporary with Henry I. of England, son of the Norman conqueror.

Alexander de Berkeley, the fourth in succession from Theobald, having obtained by marriage, in 1351, the lands of Mathers, the family afterwards became designated by the appellation of De Berkeley of Mathers; until his great grandson, called also Alexander, changed the name to the present mode of spelling, Barclay. Such a change seems to imply but little acquaintance with books and records; yet this Alexander was reputed to be a scholar; and to him are ascribed some verses said to be written by a *laird* of Mathers, as advice to his son. The verses, whoever may have been the author, are worth preserving, both for their piety and good sense, and supposing them to be his, as a specimen of Scottish poetry in the fifteenth century.

Gif thou desire thy house lang stand,
And thy successors bruik thy land,
Abive all things, lief God in fear;
Intromit nought with wrangous gear;
Nor conquess nothing wrangously;
With thy neighbour keep charity.
See that thou pass not thy estate;
Obey duly thy magistrate;
Oppress not, but support the puire;
To help the common weill take cuire.
Use no deceit; mell not with treason;
And to all men do right and reason.
Both unto word and deed be true;
All kind of wickedness eschew.
Slay no man; nor thereto consent;
Be not cruel, but patient.
Allya ay in some guid place,
With noble, honest, godly, race.
Hate huirdome, and all vices flee;
Be humble; haunt guid companie.
Help thy friend, and do nae wrang,
And God shall make thy house stand lang.

If this be really the production of the first Barclay, it is probable that the spelling of some of the words has been modernised.

The eighth in descent from Alexander Barclay, was David Barclay; who, being in straitened circumstances through his expensive living, sold his paternal estate of Mathers, after it had remained 300 years in the family, and also a more ancient inheritance which it had held 500 years. Hereon, the designation of Barclay of Mathers was lost; but in 1648, on the purchase of Urie by David, son of the last Barclay of Mathers, and father to Robert, the family assumed that of Barclay of Urie, which the spirit of feudal times, still surviving in Scotland, is disposed to retain.

This description of pedigree may seem impertinent in religious biography; and it must be allowed that, unconnected with virtue in the descendant, "to be laid in the balance, it

"is altogether lighter than vanity."* It is lighter than vanity, and worse than nothing, because it serves, among such as have not learned in the school of Christ, to prompt, and to foster, human pride. But when we have learned to believe that birth and rank often prove the means of man being opposed to the simplicity of a Christian life; and see one in the possession of these distinctions, esteeming them as of little value, in comparison of "the "excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus "the Lord;" it serves to evince the fervour and chastity of his love, and the prevalence of the power which would redeem from the love of earthly enjoyments.

Previously to an account of the life of ROBERT BARCLAY, it may be pleasing to advert for a short time to that of his father, David Barclay of Urie, commonly called Colonel Barclay; who was born at Kirktoun-

*Psalm lxii. 9.

hill, the seat of the Barclays of Mathers, in 1610.* In his youth he was a volunteer in the Swedish army, where he rose to the rank of major.† On the breaking out of the civil wars he returned home, and became colonel of a regiment of horse on the side of the king; but on the success of Cromwell in Scotland he lost his military employments, which he never after resumed. Notwithstanding his attachment to the royal cause, he was committed, after the restoration, a prisoner to Edinburgh castle; but was afterwards liberated, without any thing being laid to his charge, or any reason given for his commitment.‡ In this prison he met with John Swinton, a person who had been in the interest of Cromwell, and was then confined on

* Memoirs p. 1.

† It is confidently said that David Barclay, in his youth sold a bible, in order to purchase a sword; but in future life, viewing things in a different light, he sold this very sword, in order to buy a bible.

‡ Life, &c.

that account. Swinton had been attainted of treason by the Scottish parliament about nine years before, but had escaped into England; whence, on the revival of the regal government, he was sent a prisoner to Edinburgh. But during his residence in England he had adopted the principles of Friends; and, when in Edinburgh castle, he was more concerned to spread them, than to defend his own life. This person is said to have been the instrument of convincing David Barclay of the truth of these principles: but, according to his son's account, he did not profess them openly until a few years after. David Barclay underwent the indignities and imprisonments, often the lot of our early friends, and died in the year 1686.* On one occasion of particular abuse from the populace at Aberdeen, he remarked that he felt more satisfaction, as well as honour, in being so insulted for his religious principles,

* Memoirs, 27.

than he used to do, when the magistrates were accustomed to meet him at a distance from the city, and conduct him to public entertainments in the town-house; afterwards accompanying him as many miles on his way from them, in order to gain his favour.

The following account of his closing days is taken from the testimony of his son.*

In his illness 'he signified a quiet contented 'mind, freely resigned up to the will of God. 'About two days before his death, feeling his 'weakness with the pain [from the gravel], in 'an agony he said, *I am gone now*; and then, 'instantly checking himself, added, *But I shall 'go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my 'brethren who are gone before me; and to my 'dear son.*' This was his youngest son, who died at sea about a year before.

'The 11th of the 8th month, between two 'and three in the morning, he growing weaker,

* Barclay's Works, fol. 907.

'I drew nigh to him. He said, *Is this my son?* 'I said, yea, and spake a few words signifying 'my travail that He that loved him might be 'near him to the end. He answered, *The 'Lord is nigh*, repeating it once again, saying, '*You are my witnesses, in the presence of God, 'that the Lord is nigh.* And a little after, he 'said, *The perfect discovery of the day spring 'from on high! How great a blessing it hath 'been to me, and to my family!* My wife desir- 'ing to know if he would have something to 'wet his mouth, he said it needed not. She 'said it would refresh him. He laid his hand 'upon his breast, saying, *He had that in- 'wardly that refreshed him.* And after a little 'while he added, divers times, these words, '*The Truth is over all.*

'An apothecary coming near, he took him 'by the hand, saying, *Thou wilt bear me wit- 'ness that in all this exercise I have not been 'curious to tamper nor to pamper the flesh.* He

'answered, *Sir, I can bear witness that you*
'*have always minded the better, and more sub-*
'*stantial part; and rejoice to see the blessed end*
'*the Lord is bringing you to.* He replied,
'*Bear a faithful and true witness; yet it is the*
'*life of righteousness,* (repeating these words
'twice over) *that we bear testimony to, and not*
'*to an empty profession.* Then he called seve-
'ral times, *Come, Lord Jesus, come, come.*
'And again, *My hope is in the Lord.* Observ-
'ing a countryman coming into the room, he
'thought it had been one of his tenants, who
'was a carpenter; I telling him it was not he,
'but another, he said, *See thou tell him to make*
'*no manner of superfluity upon my coffin.*

'About three in the afternoon several friends
'came to see him. After some words were
'spoken, and Patrick Livingstone had prayed,
'which ended in praises, he held up his hands
'and said, Amen! Amen for ever! And
'after they stood up looking at him, he said,

'*How precious is the love of God among his children; and their love one to another! Thereby shall all men know that ye are Christ's disciples if you love one another. How precious a thing it is to see brethren dwell together in love! My love is with you. I leave it among you.*

'About eight at night, perceiving some to weep, he said, *Dear friends, all mind the inward man. Heed not the outward. There is one that doth regard. The Lord of Hosts is his name.* After he heard the clock strike three in the morning, he said, *Now the time comes.* And a little after he was heard to say, *Praises, praises, praises to the Lord! Let now thy servant depart in peace. Unto thy hands, O Father, I commit my soul, spirit, and body. Thy will, O Lord, be done in earth, as it is in heaven.* And so, a little after five in the morning, the 12th day of the 8th month, 1686, he fell asleep.'

*Robert Barclay received the rudiments of learning in his native country, and after having gone through the best schools there, he was sent to the Scots' College at Paris, of which his uncle Robert (son of the last Barclay of Mathers) was at that time rector. Here he made so great proficiency in his studies as to gain the notice and praise of the masters of the college; and he also became so great a favorite with his uncle, as to receive the offer of being made his heir, if he would remain in France. But his father, fearing that he might become tainted with the superstitions of popery, and in compliance with his mother's dying request, went to Paris in order to bring him home, when he was not much more than sixteen years of age. The uncle still endeavoured to prevent his return; and promised immediately to purchase for him, and present him with an estate greater than his paternal one. Robert replied;

* Memoirs, 31, &c.

'He is my father, and must be obeyed.' Thus he sacrificed interest to filial duty; and the uncle, disobliged, left his property to the college, and to other religious houses in France. The return of ROBERT BARCLAY to Scotland was in the year 1664.

The following is some account of his religious experience in childhood and youth, nearly in his own words, from the introduction of his Treatise on Universal Love: 'My first 'education, from my infancy up, fell amongst 'the strictest sort of Calvinists; those of our 'country being generally acknowledged to be 'the severest of that sect; in the heat of zeal 'surpassing not only Geneva, from whence 'they derive their pedigree, but all other the 'Reformed churches abroad, so called. I 'had scarce got out of my childhood, when 'I was, by the permission of Divine Provi-'dence, cast among the company of Papists; 'and my tender years and immature capacity

'not being able to withstand and resist the in-
'sinuations, that were used to proselite me to
'that way, I became quickly defiled with the
'pollutions thereof; and continued therein for
'a time, until it pleased God through his rich
'love and mercy, to deliver me out of those
'snares, and to give me a clear under-
'standing of the evil of that way. In both
'these sects I had abundant occasion to receive
'impressions contrary to this principle of *love*:
'seeing the straitness of several of their doc-
'trines, as well as their practice of persecution,
'do abundantly declare how opposite they are
'to universal love. The time that intervened
'betwixt my forsaking of the church of Rome,
'and joining with those with whom I now
'stand engaged, I kept myself free from joining
'with any sort of people, though I took liberty
'to hear several; and my converse was most
'with those that inveigh much against *judging*,
'and such kind of severity: which latitude

'may perhaps be esteemed the other extreme, 'opposite to the preciseness of these other 'sects; whereby I also received an opportunity 'to know what usually is *pretended* on that side 'likewise. As for those I am now joined to, 'I justly esteem them to be the true followers 'and servants of Jesus Christ.'

It doth not appear that Barclay was convinced of the truth of the principles of Friends by the means of preaching merely, 'Who,' says he of himself, Apol. Prop. XI. §. 7, 'not 'by strength of argument, or by a particular 'disquisition of each doctrine, and convince-'ment of my understanding thereby, came to 'receive and bear witness of the Truth; but 'by being secretly reached by this Life. For 'when I came into the silent assemblies of 'God's people, I felt a secret power amongst 'them which touched my heart; and as I gave 'way unto it, I found the evil weakening in

'me, and the good raised up; and so I became 'thus knit and united unto them, hungering 'more and more after the increase of this 'power and life, whereby I might find myself 'perfectly redeemed.'

* ROBERT BARCLAY married, in the month called February, 1669-70, Christian Mollison, daughter of Gilbert Mollison, a merchant in Aberdeen; and on his marriage settled at Urie, with his father. The issue of this marriage was three sons and four daughters; all of whom survived him, and were living fifty years after his death. The education of these children, on account of the early death of their father, was of course much under the care of his surviving widow; and she is said to have given uncommon evidences of virtue and piety in the management of her family;† as well as in acts of charity and benevolence to the poor.

* Memoirs, 34.

† I observed (1692) that when her children were up in the morn-

ROBERT BARCLAY lived about sixteen years with his father; in which time most of the tracts were written, which have gained him so much reputation as a religious writer. His time however was not all passed in endeavouring to serve the cause of religion with his pen. He both acted and suffered for it. The earliest transaction recorded of him, is one which, probably, would not have been expected from a person of the turn of which ROBERT BARCLAY appears to have been from his writings; namely, the passing through the streets of Aberdeen clothed in sackcloth, in the year 1672. This action is branded, by the writer of his life in the General Biography now

ing and dressed, she sat down with them before breakfast, and in a religious manner waited upon the Lord; which pious care, and motherly instruction of her children when young, doubtless had its desired effect upon them; for as they grew in years, they also grew in the knowledge of the blessed Truth, and since that time some of them have become public preachers thereof.

Gratton's life. Works, p. 125. *Edit.* 1720.

publishing, with the name of enthusiasm; and is even stigmatized with marks of contempt, by his eulogist in the Biographia Britannica: by each however his sincerity is allowed. After he had thus become "a spectacle to men,"* he addressed a short paper to the inhabitants of Aberdeen, the following extract from which will shew his own belief as to the motive and design of his exposure; and that he did not rush into it without previously opening his intention to some of his religious associates. 'Therefore was I commanded of the Lord to pass 'through your streets covered with sackcloth 'and ashes, calling you to *repentance*, that ye 'might yet be more awakened, and alarmed to 'take notice of the Lord's voice unto you; 'and not to despise these things which belong 'to your peace, whilst your day lasteth, lest 'hereafter they be hid from your eyes. And 'the command of the Lord concerning this

*Barclay's Works, 105.

'thing came unto me that very morning as I
'awakened, and the burden thereof was very
'great; yea, seemed almost insupportable unto
'me (for such a thing, until that very moment,
'had never entered me before, not in the most
'remote consideration). And some whom I
'called, to declare to them this thing, can bear
'witness how great was the agony of my spirit;
'how I besought the Lord with tears that this
'cup might pass away from me; yea, how the
'pillars of my tabernacle were shaken, and how
'exceedingly my bones trembled, until I freely
'gave up unto the Lord's will. And this was
'the end and tendency of my testimony, to call
'you to repentance, by this signal and singular
'step; which I, as to my own will and incli-
'nation, was as unwilling to be found in, as the
'worst and the wickedest of you can be averse
'from receiving, or laying it to heart. Let all
'and every one of you, in whom there is yet
'alive the least regard to God, or his fear,

'consider and weigh this matter in the presence
'of God, and by the spirit of Jesus Christ in
'your hearts, which makes all things manifest.
'Search and examine every one in his own
'soul, how far this warning and voice of the
'Lord is applicable unto them; and how great
'need they have to be truly humbled in their
'spirits; returning unto the Lord in their inward
'parts, with such true and unfeigned repent-
'ance, as answers to the outward clothing of
'sackcloth, and being covered with ashes.'—
'Consider, where are ye who are called Chris-
'tians; among whom it is become a wonder, a
'stone of stumbling, or matter of mockery, or
'a ground of reproach, for one, in the name of
'the Lord, to invite you to repentance, in
'sackcloth and ashes? Would not the heathen
'condemn you in this thing; and will not
'Niniveh stand up in judgment against you?
'How is it that ye that are called Christians
'can willingly give room to every idle mounte-

'bank, and can suffer your minds to be drawn 'out to behold these sinful divertisements, 'which indeed divert the mind from the serious 'sense of God's fear? The people can be 'gathered there, and neither the magistrates 'complain of tumult, nor yet preachers and 'professors cry out against it as delusion or 'madness. O my friends, consider; can there 'be any more strongly deluded, than for 'people daily to acknowledge and confess they 'are sinners and sinning, in words; and to 'startle at that which did so lively represent 'unto them what they own to be their own 'state and condition?—' I shall add that 'which upon this occasion, I declared unto 'you, I was for a sign from the Lord unto 'you; I desire ye may not be among those 'that wander and perish, but rather repent and 'be saved. And this is my testimony unto 'you whether you will hear or forbear. I have 'peace with my God in what I have done,

'and am satisfied that his requirings I have 'answered in this thing.'

The occurrences of the life of ROBERT BARCLAY, not having been, for ought that appears, recorded by himself, as was the practice of many of our early friends, in a journal, it is only from the incidental mention of them in the writings of others, that many of them can be collected and arranged.

There is a hint in the testimony of Alexander Jaffray* (his daughter's husband's father) of 'his service in steeple houses,' whereby it should seem that, in common with many other of our first preachers, he sometimes availed himself of the national congregations, for the purpose of promulgating the doctrines of the society. His first visit to London was probably in 1674, as we find from a passage in the journal of John Gratton, who in that year, together with ROBERT BARCLAY, Patrick

* Prefixed to Barclay's Works.

Livingstone, and William Hague, paid a curious visit to the notorious Lodowick Muggleton.‡ The next year (1675),* conjointly with George Keith, he was engaged in a public dispute with some of the students in the university of Aberdeen. It is related that the dispute was attended with this effect, that it proved the means of convincement to four other students, who were a part of the auditory; although it did not terminate to the satisfaction of the disputants on either side. In 1676† he travelled again to London on a religious visit to his friends; and from London made a similar visit in Holland and Germany, in which journey he commenced his acquaintance with Elizabeth, princess-palatine of the Rhine; with whom, as appears from a letter she wrote to him on his return, he had a conference on religious subjects. On his return from this journey, coming back by way of London, he received

* Barclay's Works, p. 569. † Memoirs, p. 56.
‡ Gratton's Life, page 68, Edit. 1795.

intelligence of the imprisonment of his father, with some other friends, at Aberdeen; on which he presented into the hands of the king, Charles II. the following petition:

'The state of the case of the people called 'Quakers in Scotland, presented unto the 'king's consideration.

'The Council of Scotland having about three 'months ago, emitted a declaration to rein-'force former Acts of Parliament against Con-'venticles, and recommended the execution of 'them, because of the abuse several persons had 'made of the king's indulgence, as the said 'declaration intimates; some inferior magis-'trates have taken occasion thereby to imprison 'many of them; and some deputies of the 'county have stretched the laws against con-'venticles to the utmost pitch of severity, by 'heavy fines and tedious imprisonments, al-'though their practices and principles never 'gave ground for such procedure.

'It is therefore, on behalf of the said suffering people, with all sincere respect, desired, that it would please the king favourably to recommend their case to the Council of Scotland; that a difference of character may be put upon them who have ever lived and behaved themselves peaceably under the present government, from such that are said to have abused the indulgence; with some present relief to those harmless sufferers, to prevent their utter ruin which in all probability will attend so many of them that live by their labour and trade.

(Signed) 'R. BARCLAY.'

By the king's direction the following laconic order was quickly underwritten to the remonstrance of BARCLAY, viz.

'His majesty is graciously pleased to refer this paper to the right honourable the lords of his majesty's privy council of Scotland.

(Signed) 'LAUDERDALE.'

Whitehall, August 7th, 1676.

This was the year in which BARCLAY'S Apology was first published. Although to say any thing here of his writings, is a small variation from the plan proposed, it may just be noticed to the credit of Charles II. that he does not appear to have been offended at the Christian freedom which ROBERT BARCLAY had used in his famous *inscription* of that work (for he denies it to be a dedication) to the king. On the contrary, it is possible that it might make way for the favourable reception of the remonstrance in question.

We have very little account of the particular object of ROBERT BARCLAY'S visit to the continent which has been just mentioned. It may, however, be conjectured that the publication of the Apology, which was printed at Amsterdam, was a part of it; and that Barclay probably presented it to the king on his return.

The king's interference doth not appear to have procured the release of David Barclay and

the other prisoners;* and soon after ROBERT'S return home, he was himself imprisoned; but was so far indulged as to be put into a better, or more properly, a less disgusting, prison than the rest.†

His commitment was on the 7th of the 9th month (November), 1676, and in the following month the news of his confinement had reached his friend the princess-palatine, probably with some circumstances of exaggeration, as appears from the following letter to her brother, the prince Rupert.

Herford, December 19th, 1676.

"Dear Brother,

"I have written to you some months ago, by "ROBERT BARCLAY, who passed this way, and "hearing I was your brother, desired to speak "with me. I knew him to be a Quaker by

* Besse's Collection of the Sufferings of the people called Quakers, Vol. 2. Article Scotland.

† The Tolbooth at Aberdeen seems to have been divided into the *upper* and *lower* prisons. The upper was the worse.

'his hat, and took occasion to inform myself 'of all their opinions: and finding they were '[accustomed*] to submit to magistrates in real 'things, omitting the ceremonial, I wished in 'my heart, the king might have many such 'subjects. And since, I have heard, that, not-'withstanding his majesty's most gracious 'letters in his behalf to the Council of Scot-'land, he has been clapped up in prison with 'the rest of his friends, and they threaten to 'hang them, at least those they call preachers 'among them, unless they subscribe their own 'banishment; and this upon a law made 'against other sects, that appeared armed for 'the maintenance of their heresy; which goes 'directly against the principles of those which 'are ready to suffer all that can be inflicted, 'and still love and pray for their enemies.

'Therefore, dear brother, if you can do any 'thing to prevent their destruction, I doubt not

*This word seems wanting to make sense.

'but you will do an action acceptable to God 'Almighty, and conducive to the service of 'your royal master: for the Presbyterians are 'their violent enemies, to whom they are an 'eye-sore, as being witnesses against all their 'violent ways. I care not, though his majesty 'see my letter. It is written out of no less an 'humble affection for him, than most sensible 'compassion of the innocent sufferers. You 'will act herein according to your own dis-'cretion, and I beseech you still consider me as

'Yours,

'ELIZABETH.'

A Monsieur
Monsieur le prince Rupert,
a Londres.

Whilst ROBERT BARCLAY lay in the Tolbooth at Aberdeen, his father was again† com-

† It does not appear quite clear how David had been released from his former imprisonment. Several of his fellow-prisoners had been set at liberty on the making of distraints to answer the sums, in which they had been fined. Yet it appears, from Besse, Vol. 2. p. 518, that David Barclay was at home when the distress was levied viz. ten working oxen, two cows, a bull, and a quantity of corn.

mitted to prison and lodged in the lower gaol. He was committed the 6th 1ſt month (March) 1677, about four months after his son; and on the 17th, they were both removed, with three others, to a place out of the town, called the chapel. In this new prison the five prisoners were confined in a small room, which allowed them little more space than was necessary to hold their beds. It had a large door which was not opened except when the keeper brought them food; and when it was shut, the prisoners had not sufficient light to serve them at their meals. It was usual when the door was opened, for a servant to come and sweep out the room; and because, to make way for him the prisoners occasionally stepped a few paces out of the door, induced also by the desire of breathing for a few minutes a purer air, the magistrate of Aberdeen reprimanded their keeper for allowing of so much indulgence. The same magistrate also chid the person who

kept the key of their cell, for proposing to let them have a small place under their room, for the purpose of stowing fuel; and rejected with indignation a proposal to make another window to their darksome place of confinement. Such was then the treatment of a man who had lately been well received at courts; who had then published a work, which will long render his name eminent in the religious world; and it may not be uninstructive to add, many of whose numerous descendants are now surrounded with most of the accommodations that opulence can bestow, and with manifold more than the simplicity of the Christian life can require.

On the 3d of the 2d month (April), an order of the commissioners of the Scottish council was made for removing David from the *Chapel*, for confining him at his country house, and prohibiting him to hold meetings, or to go to them. He was therefore released, but he

informed the bearers of the conditions, that he accepted his liberty, but that, as to the restriction, he should act as he saw proper. ROBERT was ordered to be removed from the Tolbooth of Aberdeen (where it should seem he was still considered as being a prisoner, though really at the Chapel) to the Tolbooth of Bamff; to which place were also ordered several other prisoners; and the sheriff gave him his liberty, on condition of being forth coming when he should appoint a time to convey him to Bamff.

The king's recommendation to the council at Edinburgh had been referred by that body to certain commissioners appointed for putting into execution some acts of the Scottish parliament against what was termed 'keeping 'of conventicles, and withdrawers from di-'vine worship;' under which acts the friends at Aberdeen had been persecuted; and by some of these commissioners the decree had been made, by which David was liberated, and

ROBERT ordered to be removed to Bamff. Previously, however, to this decree, the prisoners in general had preferred a petition to the council itself, requesting relief, and stating their sufferings; which in general had been even more grievous than those which ROBERT BARCLAY and his four companions had endured in the Chapel, as is already related. The council listened to the request; appointed a day in the 3d month (May) for receiving information from the commissioners of the condition and circumstances of the prisoners; and ordered that, in the mean time they should be provided with better accommodations. This order of council caused much dispute between the magistrates of Aberdeen and the under-sheriff: the former insisting that the sheriff should take to Bamff such prisoners as had been ordered thither by the decree of the commissioners; and the latter refusing to convey them, and

pressing the magistrates to accommodate them better, in consequence of the council's order, which bore a date subsequent to the commissioners' decree. The contention grew violent, and each party entered formal protests at law against the neglect of the other. Then ROBERT BARCLAY also and the other prisoners who had been ordered to be taken to Bamff, being, as has been said, at large, on their parole, and seeing that neither of the contending parties would take charge of them, went before a notary and protested 'that 'themselves were freemen, and should pass 'away about their lawful occasions.' Thus did ROBERT BARCLAY regain his liberty, the 9th of the 2d month (April) 1677, after an imprisonment of about five months.*

It may be acceptable to some readers to peruse the following letter, written by ROBERT BARCLAY to the archbishop of St. Andrews

* Besse.

(so called) not many days before his release; to which it probably in some measure contributed, together with the petition before mentioned.

'* To James Sharp, Archbishop of St. 'Andrews (so called.)

'My being personally unknown to thee, 'hath hindered me to give way to that pressure 'of mind, whereby I have felt myself often-'times moved to write to thee, because I was 'loth to trouble thee: but since there is an ad-'dress intended to be presented to the council, 'at the first sitting, in behalf of me and my 'friends, I could no longer forbear upon this 'occasion, to signify unto thee what hath been 'upon my mind for some time towards thee. 'The address itself will inform thee, how we 'have been upwards of a year imprisoned, and 'the goods of many poor people miserably

* Besse. Also Memoirs, p. 37.

'spoiled; of which thou art said to be the 'chief and principal author; and that the 'attempting to persecute us, as well as the pro- 'secution of it, doth proceed from thy influence, 'as being done either at thy express desire, or 'by some others, in hopes thereby to gratify 'thee. How far thou art truly guilty thereof, 'thine own conscience can best tell. Surely 'such practices (if thou has, either directly or 'indirectly had a hand in them) will neither 'commend thee to God or good men. I pre- 'sume thou looks upon it as thy chief honour, 'to be reputed a Christian bishop, deriving thy 'authority from Christ and his apostles; but 'they never gave warrant for any such doings, 'being preachers and practisers of patience and 'suffering, but never of persecuting, or causing 'to rob any of their goods or liberties, for their 'conscience sake. And long after, even seve- 'ral centuries, the primitive bishops abhorred 'and detested such proceedings. Hence the

' excellent and zealous Athanasius, *that* " *it*
" *is the devil's work, and not God's, to force*
" *men's consciences*;" affirming, " *that the blas-*
" *phemous Arians* (who were the first bearing
" the name of Christians, that used that prac-
" tice) *have learned so to do, not of God, but*
" *the devil and his angels.*" Considerable are
' the testimonies, Tertullian, Hæsius, Hilarius,
' Jerom, and others, have given to the same
' truth; so that Ambrosius declares, that going
' into France, " *he refused all communication*
" *with such bishops, that had any fellowship with*
" *those that sought to destroy, even such as were*
" *departed from the faith.*" I confess the
' bloody bishop of Rome gave large precedents
' of such actions; but I suppose thou art not
' ambitious to be ranked among them, or to be
' an imitator of them in that respect. How
' far thou art justifiable, in thy concurring with,
' or advising the persecution of the Presbyterian
' dissenters, is not my business to determine;

'but I am confident thou art willing it should
'be judged, that thy so doing against them, is
'not merely for their conscience, but because
'their principles do naturally, or necessarily,
'imply an innovation in the state, and thy per-
'sonal ruin: believing not only military resist-
'ance just, to protect themselves against autho-
'rity, but also an offensive endeavour to turn
'out their superiors, and establish themselves
'in their overthrow, both lawful and laudable,
'as their practice hath sufficiently demonstrated:
'but should thou be found a positive persecutor
'of such against whom nothing of that kind,
'neither from principle nor practices can be
'alleged, but only the simple exercise of their
'consciences, would not that give plentiful
'occasion for such as desire to represent thy
'other actions with the worst aspect, to show,
'whatever thou pretends of the state's security,
'yet thou art a persecutor of pure conscience,
'since thou shows thyself such against those,

against whom, the former reasons do not hold? And surely it would seem that the more our peaceable principles take place among other dissenters, thy interest will be more secure: which is a consideration not unworthy of thy notice, as deserving thy favourable aspect towards us. Perhaps the violence of several of the preachers, as some magistrates here, from whom our sufferings originally do flow, may at first view seem acceptable to thee, as faithful friends as well to the public as to thy interest; and no doubt they judge with themselves, that they ingratiate themselves with thee, in so doing: yet did thou know them as well as some of us do, thou might think it no great absurdity to conclude, as well from their practices as principles, that they would be no less ready to give thee this same treatment, had they but opportunity of doing it; and rejoice more in it, as a great service both to God and the kirk of Scotland: however that

'is now out of their reach, they make what use
'of the law they can, both to execute their
'malice on us, and flatter thee, at this juncture.
'In short, we have more than reason to believe,
'that if thou oppose thyself to this our address,
'it will not be granted; and if thou shew thy-
'self moderate and flexible, it will not be
'denied; as *no mean persons* have hinted unto
'us: so as the one will be an evidence of
'thy moderation, the other will be a testimony
'of thy inclinations to persecute. I wish then,
'for thy sake as well as ours, that this occur-
'rence rather commend thee than discommend
'thee: and thou may assure thyself, that the
'utmost rigour that can be used to us shall
'never be able to make us depart from that
'living precious truth, that God in his mercy
'hath revealed unto us, and by us is embraced;
'nor yet fright us from the public profession
'of it, yea, though we should be pursued to
'death itself; which, by the grace of God,

'we hope chearfully to undergo for the same;
'and we doubt not, but God would out of our
'ashes, raise witnesses who should outlive all
'the violence and cruelty of man. And albeit
'thou thyself should be most inexorable and
'violent towards us, thou mayest assure thyself,
'not to receive any evil from us therefore; who,
'by the grace of God, have learned to suffer
'patiently; and with our Lord and Master
'Jesus Christ, to pray for and love our enemies:
'yet as thy so doing to an innocent and inof-
'fensive people, would be an irreparable loss to
'thy reputation; so to the God of truth, whom
'we serve with our spirits, in the gospel of his
'Son, and to whom vengeance belongs, we
'leave it, who will certainly in his own time
'and way, revenge our quarrel; whose dread-
'ful judgments should be more terrible to thee,
'and much more justly to be feared, than the
'violent assaults or secret assassinations of thy
'other antagonists. That thou may prevent

'both the one and the other, by a Christian 'moderation, suitable to the office thou lays 'claim to, is the desire of,

'Thy soul's well wisher,

'R. BARCLAY.'

From the Chapel Prison of Aberdeen, the 26th of the First month, 1677.

It may be observed that ROBERT BARCLAY, in this letter, speaks of the imprisonment as having been of a year's duration; which cannot be true, of the term of his own confinement. He must therefore refer to his fellow-prisoners in general, who had been generally taken up in the first month of the preceding year. As for the archbishop, I am inclined to think he relented, although the author of some short memoirs of DAVID and ROBERT BARCLAY, (printed at Aberdeen in 1740) doth not incline to this opinion, nor doth the character of Sharp much support it.* The short lived pro-

* See Burnet's History of his own times, anno 1678.

testant episcopacy of Scotland, may prevent some readers from recollecting that at this time the ecclesiastical government of the church of that country was in bishops, and that the city called St. Andrews was the metropolitan see. It appears by BARCLAY's letter that Archbishop Sharp had been rigorous towards the presbyterians, who formed the bulk of the community in Scotland. His conduct however met with a severe return, for he was murdered in a barbarous manner as he was crossing a moor near St. Andrew's (so called) on his return from a sitting of the council.*

ROBERT BARCLAY had not long recovered his liberty before he again travelled southward, for we find him at London in the 3d month (May) at which time he had by appointment, and at his own request, a conference with William Rogers, a friend of Bristol,† who had joined

* See Burnet's History, anno 1679, Edit. 8vo. 1724, p. 158.

† Gough's History, Vol. iii. p. 16.

some separatists in Westmoreland in opposition to the discipline of the Society. On this account, in great measure, BARCLAY's *Anarchy of the Ranters* had been written. It was therefore natural that such a book and its author should attract the censure of Rogers. They met, however, in the presence of many friends; and what is not very common in such debates, the conference was conducted with calmness and moderation, and was ensued by a confession on the part of Rogers, that he had misapprehended a part of BARCLAY's book. Rogers however still continued his controversy with friends; and even wrote again in opposition to ROBERT BARCLAY's book;* so that probably not to his yielding temper, but to the moderation and calmness of BARCLAY's way of treating him, were owing his concessions on this occasion.

The same year in which ROBERT BARCLAY

* History of the People called Quakers, by John Gough, Vol. iii. p. 16. 17.

was released from prison, he accompanied William Penn in a part of the religious visit to Holland and Germany, of which there is an account published by Penn. They embarked the 26th of the 5th month (July) 1677* in company also with George Fox and some other friends. Robert Barclay was of the party at Rotterdam and Amsterdam. At the latter place was held a general meeting of the friends of the United provinces, in which many matters were settled and agreed on, relating to the discipline of the Society of Friends, and adapted to their condition in those countries. After a short stay at Amsterdam, they proceeded to Herwerden, the residence of the princess palatine, Elizabeth. The principal object of their journey thither was to visit this princess, and Anna Maria de Hornes, countess of Hornes, who was an intimate acquaintance of Elizabeth, resided much in her house, and

* Penn's Works, 2 vols. fol. Life of the Author prefixed.

was, as well as her noble entertainer, a woman ſeeking after the beſt things, and a favourer of ſuch (ſays Penn) as ſeparate themſelves from the world, for the ſake of righteouſneſs.

They were received by the princess and her friend the day after their arrival, about seven in the morning. Their viſit appears to have been a religious meeting, which laſted until eleven, and in which all the friends were engaged in testimony.* The princess invited them to dine with her, which then they declined; but as they desired another meeting, she appointed two o'clock in the afternoon. Such were the early hours then observed. At this meeting ſeveral were present besides the princess and countess. It continued until near seven in the evening. William Penn thus ſpeaks of it: 'The

* By this phrase is to be understood that each of the visitors thought himself required to preach in the meeting. Such declarations are called testimonies because they bear witneſs, or testify to that which the speaker feels in himself. See on this subject Barclay's Apology, Proposition 10. § 7. §. 14. §. 15. §. 33.

'eternal Word shewed itself a hammer this 'day: yea sharper than a two-edged sword, 'dividing asunder between the soul and the 'spirit, between the joints and the marrow. 'Yea, this day was all flesh humbled before the 'Lord. It amazed one, struck another, broke 'another. Yea, they had a sense and dis-'covery that day, what would become of the 'glory of all flesh, when the Lord shall enter 'into judgment.

'Well, let my right hand forget its cunning, 'and my tongue cleave to the roof of my 'mouth, when I shall forget the loving-kind-'ness of the Lord, and the sure mercies of our 'God, to us his travelling servants that day.'

The following day, they paid two visits at this little court; and the day after, which was the first day of the week, they held there a meeting appointed at two o'clock by Elizabeth's direction; at which were present others besides those of

her household. Among other things, Penn says of this meeting, 'The quickening power 'and life of Jesus wrought, and reached to 'them; and virtue from Him in whom dwell-'eth the Godhead bodily, went forth.' After this meeting, which held until late in the evening, the visitors took their leave; but not before they had been witnesses of the tender disposition of mind of the princess, who, attempting to set forth her sense of the power and presence of God that was among them, turned herself to the window, crying out, 'My 'heart is full, I cannot speak to you.' The next day ROBERT BARCLAY left the company, and returned to Amsterdam. It appears that his return home was by way of London. On the road he wrote a letter to his friend the princess; which, as it shows the condition of his own immediate circle of friends at Aberdeen, and contains other matter worthy of remark, is here inserted.

* Theobalds, near London, 18th of the 7th mo. 1677.

'Dear Friend,

'By my letter of the last of the month past, 'I understand of the friends being with thee, 'and was refreshed by the account they gave 'me of thy kind and Christian entertainment 'of them (they having overtaken me in Hol-'land). God will not be wanting to reward thy 'love, as well as to increase the same. Finding 'no ready passage straight to Scotland, I came 'over here; and albeit I had no great expecta-'tion of success, I resolved once more to try 'thy cousin the duke of York.† So I told 'him, that I understood from Scotland, not-'withstanding Lauderdale was there, and had 'promised, ere he went, to do something, yet 'our friends' foes were rather increased; and 'that now there was only one thing to be done, 'which I desired of him; and that was, to write

*Memoirs, p. 44. † Afterwards James 2d.

'effectually to the duke of Lauderdale, in that 'stile wherein Lauderdale might understand 'that he was serious in the business, and did 'really intend the thing he did write concern-'ing should take effect: which I knew he 'might do, and I supposed the other might 'answer; which if he would do, I must acknow-'ledge as a great kindness: but if he did write, 'and not in that manner, so that the other 'might not suppose him to be serious, I would 'rather he would excuse himself the trouble; 'desiring withal to excuse my plain manner of 'dealing, as being different from court way of 'soliciting: all which he seemed to take in 'good part, and said he would so write, as I 'desired, for my father and me, but not for the 'general.* So he hath given me a letter:

* Meaning the persecuted friends of Aberdeen in general. James ed has been accused of pretending to be the champion of liberty of conscience, for the sake of opening a way for the establishment of the Catholic party; and this refusal to interest himself for the relief of the sufferers in general, but only for the Barclays, seems

'whether it may prove effectual or not, I can-
'not determine, but of this thou may hear here-
'after. I am now entered into my journey,
'and intend to pass by the way of Ragley.
'What thou writes of the counsellor, of the
'elector, and the other preachers, is very ac-
'ceptable to me to hear; whose joy it is, to
'understand that the eyes of any are opened to
'see the truth as it is in this day revealed; as
'it should be much more, to hear that any
'came into that universal obedience which
'the life and power thereof leads to: which
'life and power, as it is felt in the inward part,
'is more than all the words can be spoken;
'of which I know thou hast, at some times,
'not been insensible; and therefore my soul's
'desire for thee is, that thou may more and
'more come out of all that which cumbers, to
'feel this virtue of truth to operate in, and

to favour the opinion that he was a time server, and not a real friend to liberty of conscience.

'redeem thy soul from all the difficulties that 'do or may attend thee; which in the nature 'of it, it is powerful to do, albeit thy tempta- 'tions were both greater and more numerous 'than they are; if received by thee in the love 'of it, and with a heart fully resigned to obey 'it, in all its requirings; without consulting with 'flesh and blood, or turning by, the plain and 'simple leadings thereof by wise and fleshly rea- 'sonings, which will never admit of the govern- 'ment, and rule of the cross of Christ; as 'thou well knows and will not refuse to ac- 'knowledge, and therefore art the more con- 'cerned to watch against it in thy own 'particular, as I hope in measure thou does, 'and my heart's desire is.

'Thou may make mention of my dear and 'tender love to Anna, whose servant, as also 'the French woman, I forget not. To Anna 'I thought to have written apart, but must 'now leave it until another opportunity. If

'thou seest meet to salute that counsellor of 'the electors in my name, thou may do it. I 'shall add no more at present, but that I am,

'Thy real and unfeigned friend,

'ROBERT BARCLAY.'

In forming this compilation, no occurrence has been found recorded of ROBERT BARCLAY, from the date of the foregoing letter until the 9th month (Nov.) 1679, when he was again taken,* with several other friends, from the meeting at Aberdeen, and committed to prison; but this confinement was not only of short duration, as they were released in about three hours, but it proved the last on this account; for from that period the religious meetings of Friends at Aberdeen, were held without any molestation from the magistrates; whom, probably, the well known interest which ROBERT BARCLAY possessed at court, might in

* Bene.

part restrain from further persecution; and on whom the constancy of the sufferers could scarcely fail to produce some effect favourable to the end for which they suffered: the liberty of assembling to worship God, in the way they believed to be most acceptable to him.

In this year also, 1679,* ROBERT BARCLAY obtained a charter from Charles 2d. under the great seal, erecting his lands of Urie into a Free Barony, with civil and criminal jurisdiction, to him and his heirs.† This charter was afterwards ratified by an act of parliament; the preamble of which states it to be 'for 'the many services done by Colonel David

* Memoirs, p. 48.

† It seems remarkable that a man of a religious character, like R. Barclay, should wish to encumber himself with the administration of either criminal or civil justice, at a time when many of its laws and forms were inconsistent with the profession he was making. I can only suppose it was in the expectation of possessing some personal privilege, or, in some cases, of preventing the reference of causes to the hearing of less upright judges. Barclay's eldest son Robert, who succeeded to this barony, is said to have been accustomed to use his power in the discharge of recruits, who had been enlisted when intoxicated.

'Barclay, and his son, the said ROBERT 'BARCLAY, to the king and his most royal 'progenitors in times past.' The barony, however, with all similar jurisdictions, was extinguished, on the alteration made in the system of the government of Scotland.*

He again visited Holland,† in the year 1686, but of this visit no particulars have been made public; nor have those of some business which carried him the same year to Edinburgh, and on which he received a friendly letter from the Duke of York written by his own hand; also two others from the Earl of Perth: but these letters not explaining the employment of BARCLAY, at the time they were written, are not necessary to be recorded in an account of the actions of his life.

* By Act 20, Geo. 2. cap. 43.

† Memoirs, p. 48.

In 1682* he was again at London: during his stay at which place, he was chosen governor of East Jersey in North America by the proprietors of that province, of whom his friend the Earl of Perth was one. He was also himself made a proprietor, and was put into possession of 5000 acres of land above his proprietor's share,† that he might grant them to others at his pleasure. These were inducements held out for his accepting the government. Charles 2d. confirmed the grant of the government; and the royal commission states that 'such is his 'known fidelity and capacity that he has the 'government during life, but that no other 'governor after him shall have it longer than 'for three years.' He had also authority to appoint a deputy-governor, with a salary of

* Memoirs, 51.

† The words of the 'Memoirs' are 'To induce him to accept 'thereof, they gifted him a propriety, with five thousand acres 'more, for him to bestow as he should think fit.' p. 51.

four hundred pounds sterling per annum, a sum equal to at least a thousand, according to the value of money of the present time, the commencement of the nineteenth century. It does not appear that any salary was annexed to the station which he himself filled, so that patronage, rather than riches, appears to have been the immediate effect of the grant. In consequence of his newly acquired power, he appointed Gawen Laurie, a merchant of London, deputy-governor;* but never visited the province himself. His brother John,† the colonel's second son, settled in East Jersey, and the third son, ROBERT's youngest brother, a youth of great hopes, died upon his voyage, as he was going with a similar intention. This was the son, whom David commemorated on

* This, it is probable, if not certain, was the same G. Laurie, to whom jointly with William Penn and Nicolas Lucas, West Jersey had been assigned for the benefit of the creditors of Byllinge, the proprietor (Morse's American Geography). If so, he was likely to be a man conversant with colonial concerns.

† Memoirs, 59.

his death-bed.* It has been mentioned that David had been induced to examine the principles of Friends by John Swinton, a fellow-prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh.† It has been also related, that Swinton had been attainted by a parliament of Scotland, previous to the overthrow of the regal government, and committed to prison on that attainder on its re-establishment.‡ In the mean time he had adopted the profession of Friends; and when at length he was brought to trial and called on to show cause why he should not receive sentence according to his attainder, he waved some strong and valid pleas in point of law, which he might have made; and replied, that at the time his crimes were imputed to him 'he was 'in the "gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity;" but that, God having since called 'him to the light, he saw and acknowledged

* See page 10. † page 8.

‡ Biogr. Brit. Barclay.

'his past errors, and did not refuse to pay the 'forfeit of them, even though (in the judgment 'of his judges) this should extend to his life.' He was however recommended to the king's mercy, and his life was preserved; but it is probable that his estates, which were forfeited at the Restoration, had not been returned; since we find ROBERT BARCLAY, soon after his return from London in 1682,* assisting Swinton with his interest and purse at Edinburgh: thus answering practically and freely the apostolic expostulation (1 Cor. ix. 11.), by permitting Swinton to reap carnal things, who had sown spiritual things to his family.

The remainder of the life of ROBERT BARCLAY is not marked with many instances of public action. Much of it appears to have been passed in tranquillity, and in the bosom of his family; yet not without occasional journeys, either for his own concerns, to serve his re-

* Memoirs, 51.

lations and neighbours, or to advocate the cause of his brethren in religious profession. On his return from a journey to the neighbourhood of London, where he had been settling his son at the boarding school, then kept by George Keith, at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, his life appears to have been in some danger from the attack of a highwayman.* His wife had observed him in the morning to be more pensive than usual, and he had told her that he believed some unusual trial would that day befal the company; which consisted of himself, his wife, her brother, and Aaron Sonneman, a Dutchman, formerly a merchant in Holland, but then resident in Scotland. When the robber presented his pistol, ROBERT BARCLAY calmly asked him 'how he came to be so rude,' and took him by the arm; on which the robber let the pistol drop, and offered him no further violence; but his brother-in-law was

* Memoirs, 52.

rifled, and Sonneman received a mortal wound in the thigh; although rather, it was thought accidentally than by design. He died at Stilton in a few days.

Robert Barclay about this time* appears to have been attentive to the welfare of his province by shipping provisions, and engaging indented servants, at Aberdeen. He was, in 1685 again in London, where he employed himself in many acts of friendship, both to his brethren in religious profession, and to others. He had frequent access to the king (James 2d.)† who showed him marks of great friendship; as he had done before his accession; and whether the conduct of James was sincere or sinister, Barclay, influenced, possibly by the personal kindness which he received, seems to have thought the king in earnest, and to have conceived on his part, a sincere regard for the imprudent monarch.

*Memoirs, 50. †p. 58.

In 1686* he was much solicited by George Fox and some other friends, who knew his interest at court, to come again to London, and employ himself on their behalf. Though the juncture in which their application was made was not a time of persecution, (for that had ceased on the accession of James 2d.) yet the legal incapacity of our friends in consequence of their refusing to swear; and the ruinous processes, which were generally instituted against them for tithes, even of small amount; together with the little security which they felt, whilst the penal laws were only suspended by a power which they knew to be incompetent; all these considerations would naturally induce them to desire that their ease might rest on a surer basis. That they really looked to parliament for a radical redress of their wrongs, appears by the address from the Yearly Meeting in 1687; and as Barclay, in

*Page 59.

compliance with the request of Fox and his friends, left home in the Second month (April) that year, there is little doubt that he was present at the Yearly Meeting, which was sitting the 19th of the Third month, as appears by the date of the address. The words alluded to are these: *'We hope the good effects 'thereof (the king's declaration of indulgence) 'may produce such a concurrence from the 'parliament as will secure it to our posterity.'†

The applications of the friends in London to ROBERT BARCLAY had been made many months before he concluded to come to that city, and soon after the accession of the king. As George Fox and Robert Barclay are certainly two of the most conspicuous characters in the society of friends, a letter from Fox

* Gough, Vol. iii. p. 194.

† This address is more particularly mentioned, because a spurious one to James 2d. has been attributed to the Quakers

to Barclay may prove an agreeable object in a survey of his life. He had travelled with George Fox, and was intimate with him, and there is truth in the proverb, A man is known by the company he keeps.

* 'Edmonton, 19th of the 5th month, 1685.

'Dear friend, ROBERT BARCLAY, with my 'love to thee, and thy wife and father, and the 'rest of the holy friends, in the holy seed of 'life, that reigns over all, in whom ye have 'life, and salvation, and peace with God: now 'the occasion of my writing to thee at this 'time is, that Friends were very sensible of the 'great service thou had concerning the Truth, 'with the king and all the court; and that thou 'had their ear more than any friend, when 'here, and freedom and liberty on Friends' and 'Truth's behalf. And now, dear ROBERT, 'we understanding that the occasion of thy

* Memoirs, p. 54.

'sudden return concerning the condition thy 'wife was in, being now over by her being de- 'livered, I desire thee, and it is the desire of 'several other friends, that, whilst the door is 'open and the way so plain, that thou wouldest 'be pleased to come to London with speed, or 'as soon as may be; for there is a great ser- 'vice in it, thou having such free access; and 'when thou art here, Friends may let thee 'know their mind further. And so, dear 'ROBERT, there is a great service in thy 'coming, upon several accounts, more than I 'shall mention at this time; and so I hope 'the Lord will incline thy heart to weigh and 'consider thy service in it; and so, once 'more, with my love, &c.

'G. Fox.'

To this letter was added,

London, 22d of the 5th month, 1686.

'Dear Robert,

'The within desire of George Fox is also 'the desire of us, and we think of all the 'friends here: we therefore hope thou wilt 'do the needful therein.

'We are thy real friends,

'John Osgood,

'Francis Camfield.'

Let not any reader, more especially those for whose perusal this sketch of the life of their honourable ancestor is more immediately written, be so fastidious as to contemn the simple stile of George Fox. George Fox indeed, though unlettered, was a man of a sound understanding and of a ready wit. But even had he been, and were many more of the advocates for the inward light of Christ, and for a self-denying life, deficient in acuteness of understanding, let it be considered that

one cause for the offices of religion being often filled by persons of inferior capacities, and of small acquirements,* may be the too general refusal of talents and learning to bend in subjection to the humbling power of the cross. It seems difficult to quit this subject without expressing a wish (and would, that it may be sped!) that, amidst the career of prosperity, and the captivating charms of indulgence, some reader may be found, who may be willing here to pause; to consider, with BARCLAY, 'that the heighth of all happiness 'is placed in the true knowledge of God;'† and to inquire seriously of his witness, Am I really concerned to obtain, and to preserve this knowledge; or to make gratification in some way or other, much, if not wholly, the business of my life?

*See a remarkable Case, in Apol. Prop. 10, § 19, towards the end. See also § 23, for Barclay's own experience.

† Apol. Prop. 1.

During this time of ROBERT BARCLAY's abode in the metropolis, he presented to the king an address of acknowledgment from the general meeting of Friends at Aberdeen; and alſo visited the seven bishops, then confined in the Tower for having refused to distribute, in their respective dioceses, the king's declaration for liberty of conscience; and for having represented to the king the grounds of their objection to the measure. The popular opinion was in favour of the bishops;* yet the former severities of some of that order against dissenters, particularly against Friends, occasioned some reflections on them, which, coming to the knowledge of the imprisoned bishops, cauſed them to allege *that the Quakers had belied them, by reporting that they had been the death of some.* Hearing this, ROBERT BARCLAY went to the Tower, and gave the bishops a well substantiated account of some persons having been

* Gough, Vol. iii. p. 102.

detained in prison until death by order of bishops, though they had been apprized of the danger by phyſicians who were not Quakers: yet he added, that it was by no means the intention of Friends to publish such incidents, and thereby to give to the king, and their other adversaries, any advantage against them.

ROBERT BARCLAY was in London for the last time in the memorable year 1688,* and standing with the king in a window, the king looking out, observed that 'the wind was then 'fair for the prince of Orange to come over.' ROBERT BARCLAY replied that 'it was hard 'that no expedient could be found to satisfy 'the people;' and the king declared 'he 'would do any thing becoming a gentleman, 'except to part with liberty of conſcience, 'which he never would whilst he lived.' At this time BARCLAY took a final leave of the king, for whose troubles he was much con-

* Memoirs, p. 56.

cerned; and with whom he had been several times engaged in serious discourse, on the posture of affairs at that time. As ROBERT BARCLAY seems to have had the ear of both of the royal brothers, more than is usual for a subject in a station so little elevated, it may be a matter of inquiry by what means he acquired the privilege. The services of his father the colonel, who was, during his military career, a determined and vigorous loyalist, seems to have introduced him to notice at court; and it is probable that the mildness of his manners, the soundness of his understanding, and the integrity of his conduct, preserved him in favour.

The latter part of his life appears to have passed at home, where he lived in the enjoyment of the esteem of his neighbours, and where he died the 3d of the Eighth month (Oct.) 1690, having not quite attained to his

forty-third year.* His character is thus drawn by his friend, kinsman, and fellow-sufferer, Patrick Livingstone.†

'He was all along a man for peace; and an 'enemy to strife and dissention, but was a 'peace-maker. I never knew him at any 'time to be in a passion or anger.

'He was a man of a sweet, pleasant, and 'chearful temper, and above many for even-'ness of spirit; a man of deep reach in his 'judgment and understanding of heavenly

* Gough, in his History, Vol. iii. p. 247, relates that James Dickenson of Cumberland, being with R. Barclay near his close, Barclay expressed his love to all faithful friends in England,—adding 'God 'is good still; and though I am under a great weight of weakness 'and sickness, yet my peace flows; and this I know, whatever ex-'ercises may be permitted to come upon me, they shall tend to 'God's glory, and my salvation, and in that I rest.' I insert this in a note, as not fully to be relied on, for this reason only: that James Dickenson does not mention it in his Journal, though he does mention being twice at Urie in his visit to Scotland in the year 1690. The *Memoirs* hint at it; and so does John Whiting in his 'Perse-'cution Expoſed,' &c, a book well worth the perusal of such as wish to know the circumstances of our friends in the latter part of the 17th century.

† Testimony prefixed to Barclay's Works.

'things, and also of the things that concerned 'him to know of this life amongst men.

'He was quick and ready in his understand-'ing of matters of difference or controversy; 'and had a notable way of deciding and com-'posing of them.

'He was a man of a public spirit, and 'laboured for the public good of all, but 'especially of those he was in fellowship 'with.

'And, as for his doctrine, he was plain and 'clear to the meanest capacity: discreet and 'obliging therein.'

SOME

ACCOUNT, &c.

THE first occasion on which ROBERT BARCLAY appeared as an author was about the 22d year of his age, in a piece intitled, 'Truth cleared of calumnies, wherein a book 'intitled "A dialogue between a Quaker and "a stable Christian" (printed at Aberdeen, 'and upon good ground, judged to be writ 'by William Mitchell, a preacher near it) is 'examined, and the disingenuity of the author 'in his representing of the Quakers is dis-'covered, their case truly stated, cleared,

'demonstrated, and the objections of their 'opposers answered, according to truth, scrip-'ture, and right reason.' The title page bespeaks the intention of the work, and it may be only necessary to add, that the dialogue to which it is an answer seems to have been the result of a controversy that had been long maintained between the friends in Aberdeen and some of the clergy: the latter having endeavoured to represent them as holding doctrines injurious to religion. The reader may find in Barclay's 'Truth cleared of Calum-'nies,' some of those leading points of the doctrine of Friends, handled in a concise manner, which are more diffusely treated of in some of his subsequent works. To this book was added, in the same year, a postscript intitled 'Some things of weighty concernment, pro-'posed in meekness and love, by way of que-'ries to the serious consideration of the 'inhabitants of Aberdeen; which may also be

'of use to such as are of the same mind with 'them elsewhere in this nation.' The questions are twenty in number. Some of them pointedly relate to the controversy on foot; others are of a more general nature; and all are worth the perusal of such as engage in religious dispute.

Wm. Mitchell, the supposed author of the anonymous 'Dialogue,' having thought fit to reply to our author's 'Truth cleared from 'Calumnies,' gave him occasion to publish in 1672* his piece called 'William Mitchell 'Unmasked, or the staggering instability of 'the pretended stable Christian discovered; 'his omissions observed, and weakness unveiled, 'in his late faint and feeble animadversions, by 'way of reply to a book intitled "Truth "cleared of Calumnies," wherein the integrity 'of the Quakers' doctrine is the second time

*Æt. 24.

'justified and cleared from the reiterate, cla-
'morous, but causeless calumnies of this cavil-
'ling catechist.' From such a title, a closer conflict may be expected; and it is acknowledged by William Penn in his preface to Barclay's works, that 'the dispute rises 'high, and the contest seems sharp and close; 'but to every impartial reader the advantage 'evidently runs on our author's side, who ap-'pears rather zealous than heated, and sharper 'on his enemy's matter than person: for he 'rather pities his enemy than triumphs over his 'weakness and envy. Here, as in an exact 'draught, the reader has an account of the 'fabulous principles given under our names, 'and those that we really profess: and the 'pleasure even men pretending to religion 'take to render a poor self-denying people that 'which they are not; as if they feared we 'should be in the right, or hold principles

'nearer to what they themselves profess to 'believe, than is convenient for their interest 'with the people to allow; lest that, together 'with the sobriety their [*our*] worst enemies 'allow to be so conspicuous among them [*us*], 'should give them [*us*] too great a credit with 'their hearers.' The editor of the Biographia Britannica says 'In this work our author 'discovers an amazing variety of learning; 'which shews how good a use he made of 'his time at Paris, and how thorough a master 'he was of the scriptures, the fathers, and 'ecclesiastical history, and with how much 'skill and judgment he applied them.'

In these two books, namely 'Truth cleared 'of Calumnies,' and 'William Mitchell Un-'masked,' will be found the buddings of much of that sound argument, which afterwards grew to such a notable degree of strength in BARCLAY's famous Apology.

Our author's next publication was a half sheet, intitled 'A seasonable warning and 'serious exhortation to, and expostulation 'with, the inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning 'this present dispensation, and day of God's 'living visitation towards them.' From this paper I have given an extract at page 18, as relating to the author's message in sackcloth. Some queries respecting that matter having been dispersed in Aberdeen, an answer to those queries was also published, and appear as a postscript to the 'Seasonable Warning' in the collection of BARCLAY's works. It appears from this postscript, that ROBERT BARCLAY had the unity and concurrence of his friends on the occasion of his mortifying errand, and was accompanied by some of them.

Now, quitting for a while the field of controversy, our author compiled and published his Catechism and Confession of Faith, a work which has gone through several editions in

English and one in Latin. The first edition is that of 1673. The society of friends had been represented as villifying and denying the scriptures; 'to disprove which' says BARCLAY addressing himself to the reader 'this catechism and confession of faith is compiled and 'brought to thy view'——'In answer to the 'questions, there is not one word, that I know 'of, placed, but the express words of scripture.' Accordingly the work is called 'A Catechism 'and Confession of Faith, approved of and 'agreed unto by the general assembly of the 'patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, Christ 'himself chief speaker in and among them: 'which containeth a true and faithful account 'of the principles and doctrines which are most 'surely believed by the churches of Christ in 'Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproachfully called by the name of Quakers; yet are 'found in the one faith with the primitive 'church and saints: as is most clearly demon-

'strated by some plain scripture testimonies '(without consequences or commentaries), 'which are here collected and inserted by way 'of answer to a few weighty, yet easy and 'familiar questions, fitted as well for the wisest 'and largest, as for the weakest and lowest, 'capacities. To which is added an expostu-'lation with, and appeal to, all other pro-'fessors.' As the days in which we live are marked by bold attempts to villify the scriptures; and as even persons under our profession have employed themselves in endeavouring to bring them into discredit, thinking to succeed the more easily with a people who believe in the superior authority of the Spirit; it is peculiarly interesting to behold in what light ROBERT BARCLAY, the able asserter of that superior excellence, viewed the scriptures. It is further interesting, because ROBERT BARCLAY himself has been adduced as the countenancer of unscriptural conclusions. His works never-

theless teem with references to scripture authority; he never shrinks from the test of scripture on disputed points; and in the present work he confesses himself to intend to let the simple words of scripture, uncommented on, be the advocates of the cause which he espouses.

After the publication of the Catechism, it appears that the next production of our author's pen was his 'Theses Theologicæ,' of which further mention will be made. In the year 1675 he published at Rotterdam a piece in Latin against Nicolas Arnold, professor in the university of Franequer, in Friesland, one of the United Provinces, who had controverted his Theses, intitled 'Christianæ 'quædam animadversiones in Nicolaï Arnoldi '(qui S. S. theologiæ Doctor et Profes. se 'prædicat) exercitationem theologicam de 'Quakerismo, ejusque brevis refutatio.'*

* Some Christian remarks on the Theological Exercitation on Quakerism of Nicolas Arnold, (who stiles himself doctor and professor of divinity) and a short refutation of them.

It is addressed as follows; 'Omnibus totius 'Belgii, et presertim Academiæ Franequæ- 'ranæ, doctoribus, professoribus, et studiosis, 'ROBERTUS BARCLAIUS Divini Spiritûs illu- 'minationem uberiorem ad intelligentiam veri- 'tatis, animumque ad eam amplectandam 'proclivem exoptat.'*

The same year he gave to the public, 'A 'true and faithful account of the most material 'passages of a dispute betwixt some students 'of divinity (so called) of the university of 'Aberdeen, and the people called Quakers.' The issue of this dispute has been already mentioned (p. 23). It seems the disputing students had also published an account of it, in a piece intitled 'Quakerism canvassed,' which occasioned a reply from BARCLAY and his

*To all the doctors, professors, and students, in the Netherlands, more especially to those of the university of Franequer, Robert Barclay wisheth a fuller illumination of the Divine Spirit, for the understanding of the truth, and a mind disposed to embrace it.

friends, under the title of 'Quakerism con-'firmed' in two parts, both dated 1676. To the latter is subjoined three certificates, from four persons present at the dispute, who, it also appears, were the same that were convinced by means of the impressions then made on their minds. The character, therefore, of these latter publications of BARCLAY may be learned from the students' certificates: which are as follow.

'We the underscribers, late students of phi-'losophy in the university of Aberdeen, being 'present at the dispute, do faithfully declare, 'that the students have grossly belied the 'Quakers in their account, making them to 'speak that which they spake not; and also 'forging arguments and answers not mentioned 'upon the place. And though we had no in-'tention at that time to own the people called 'Quakers, yet we dare not but declare that 'their answer and behaviour had no small in-

'fluence upon us, to make us in love with their 'way, and to search after it more diligently: 'as also the students' arguments and lightness 'did not a little tend to make us disgust them 'and their principles. And albeit that inward 'peace and satisfaction of mind, which we 'enjoy in the truth we now profess with that 'despised and injured people, doth make us 'bless the day in which it pleased God to 'bring us among them; yet we are not a little 'confirmed in the belief of this reproached 'testimony and witnesses, that we find the 'strongest arguments their adversaries have 'against them are lies and calumnies. And 'this we testify for the Truth, whom the Truth 'hath taught not to lie.

'ROBERT SANDILANDS.

'JAMES ALEXANDER.'

'And I also declare, who (being a student 'at that time in the Old Town College) was

'present at the dispute, and heard the same
'with attention, that the students have grossly
'belied the Quakers in many things in their
'account. And although that since it hath
'pleased God to join me unto that people, yet
'at that time I had no mind to be of their
'way. However when I saw their account I
'did approve it as ingenuous, as now I
'also do, and disapprove the students as false
'in many things.

'ALEXANDER SEATON.'

'And I likewise (being a student in the
'New Town College) at that time was pre-
'sent at the dispute, and do declare that the
'students' folly and lightness had no small
'influence upon me to search more narrowly
'into the way of that people; which it pleased
'the Lord to bless unto me, so that the eyes
'of my understanding came to be opened, and
'I came fully to be convinced of the truth of

'their principles and way; to which now by 'the mercy of the Lord I am joined; and do 'find by comparing the two accounts together, 'that the students have wronged the people 'called Quakers in divers things, as the 'students' self contradictions do sufficiently 'shew.

'ALEXANDER PATERSON.'

This appears to have been a busy time with ROBERT BARCLAY, for in the same year was published his 'Anarchy of the Ranters,' and his 'Apology.' The latter was as yet only submitted to the learned world, being printed in Latin at Amsterdam. Let us therefore suspend our review of it, and advert to the other book, the title of which at large is 'The 'Anarchy of the Ranters, and other libertines, 'the Hierarchy of the Romanists, and other 'pretended churches, equally refused and re-'futed: in a two-fold apology for the church

'and people of God called in derision Quakers.
'Wherein they are vindicated from those that
'accuse them of confusion and disorder on
'the one hand, and from such as calumniate
'them with tyranny and imposition on the
'other; shewing that as the true and pure
'principles of the gospel are restored by their
'testimony; so is also the ancient apostolic
'order of the church of Christ re-established
'among them, and settled upon its right basis
'and foundation.' The scope of this work may be gathered from its title; but it is useful to know that Friends at that time were calumniated by their adversaries as a people who, under colour of private internal direction, were laying waste good order; whilst by some dissatisfied persons among themselves, they were accused as violating the rights of private judgment, and restraining the operations of the spirit in individuals, by the discipline which had been set up among them. The author

therefore endeavours to reconcile the province of the body with the privileges of individuals; and he does it in a masterly manner. The work has passed several impressions, and as its title when abridged to the few words, The Anarchy of the Ranters, conveys little or no information of its contents, the Yearly Meeting has lately ordered an additional title to be prefixed, namely, 'A Treatise on Christian Discipline.' It is a treatise particularly well worth the perusal of all such as believe it to be their duty to be active in discipline. In the collection of BARCLAY's works there is an explanatory postscript (written in prison in 1679), occasioned by the opposition of Rogers, already mentioned (pp. 45, 46), which exhibits our author in an amiable view.*

The Theses Theologicæ have been already mentioned. They have been printed in Latin,

* It appears from a paper subjoined that the Anarchy of the Ranters had been approved by the Morning Meeeing at London; which meeting had been then established about three years.

French, German, Dutch, and English. One of the English editions bears the title of 'The 'principles of true Christianity and sound 'divinity asserted.' They are addressed as follows. 'To the clergy of what sort soever, 'unto whose hands these may come; but more 'particularly to the doctors, professors, and 'students of divinity, in the universities and 'schools of Great Britain, whether prelatical, 'presbyterian, or any other,——ROBERT 'BARCLAY, a servant of the Lord God, 'and one of those who in derision are called 'Quakers, wisheth unfeigned repentance to 'the acknowledgment of the truth.' These theses or propositions are fifteen in number. The following are the subjects of them.

1. Concerning the true foundation of knowledge.
2. ..... Immediate Revelation.
3. ..... the Scriptures.

4. Concerning the Condition of Man in the fall.

5. & 6. ..... the Universal Redemption by Christ, and also the saving and spiritual light, wherewith every man is enlightened.

7. ..... Justification.

8. ..... Perfection.

9. ..... Perseverance, and the possibility of falling from Grace.

10. ..... the Ministry.

11. ..... Worship.

12. ..... Baptism.

13. ..... the Communion or participation of the body and blood of Christ.

14. ..... the power of the civil magistrate in matters purely religious and appertaining to the conscience.

15. ..... Salutations and Recreations, &c.

On these subjects, the author lays down, or propounds, his sense and judgment of truth as held by Friends.

The propositions, being sent forward into the world, were well received beyond the author's expectation; and proved the means of removing some false and monstrous opinions which had been imbibed against Friends. Actuated therefore by the like design of propagating the truth, and believing himself influenced by the same measure of the Divine Spirit, he judged it proper to explain his propositions somewhat more largely, and to defend them with arguments, and this produced his celebrated Apology.

It is intitled 'An Apology for the true 'Christian divinity, as the same is held forth, 'and preached, by the people called in scorn 'Quakers, being a full explanation and vindi- 'cation of their principles and doctrines, by 'many arguments deduced from Scripture and 'right reason, and the testimonies of famous 'authors, both ancient and modern: with a 'full answer to the strongest objections usually 'made against them. Presented to the king.'

In this work the fifteen propositions are (except the 5th and 6th, which are examined together) separately examined and proved. The author's general way is to state clearly the terms of that which he is about to prove; afterwards to adduce one or more scripture texts, which either plainly affirm the truth of what he has laid down, or from which it may be naturally, fairly, and clearly deduced by an argument: which he generally frames in the manner of what is termed a syllogism.* He afterwards adds the testimonies of other authors of approved reputation in support of the doctrine which he is proving; and lastly states the objections to it that have been made, or might be made; which he likewise answers by syllogistical arguments drawn from Scripture, or from self-evident truths, acknowledged by all.

* As for example. Sin is imputed to none where there is no law.
But, To infants there is no law.
Therefore, Sin is not imputed to them. Prop. 4. § 6.

The Theses contain the author's general opinions under each head, or division of the Apology; but in order to show, in this place, what those opinions are, it may not be amiss to sketch an outline of what the reader may expect to find treated of, in a finished and masterly manner in this instructive, celebrated, and it may even be said, entertaining work. In truth, the road of religion is far from being without its flowers; and its thorns, it should be remembered, have been sown in it by the opposition of the irreligious. When its course is unobstructed, or when the obstructions are overcome, its ways are still ways of pleasantness, and all its paths peace.

It is probably occupation, which forms much of the pleasure of the mind; and when men have resolved not to occupy themselves with trifles, and with such pursuits as neither make them wiser or better, they may find genuine entertainment in the performance of

their duty; and in the perusal of tracts written on subjects which concern them so immediately as those which pertain to life and salvation. Here the mind is at once occupied, entertained, and invigorated.

On the subject of the First Proposition, our author asserts, that the *true foundation of knowledge*, lies in being acquainted with God: an assertion which, as he supposes it will generally be granted, he does not stop long to explain. *Immediate revelation* is held up in the Second Proposition, and BARCLAY not only shows the necessity of it, for obtaining that true knowledge which is mentioned in the First; but proves that the doctrine was held by the early teachers of Christianity; and that the revelation for which he pleads is only to be obtained in and by Christ, through the Spirit. This part of the Apology also contains (§ 3.) ROBERT BARCLAY's faith as to the eternal divinity of Christ.

The Third Proposition, treating of the *Scriptures*, the apologist begins with affirming them to be the most excellent writings in the world; to which not only no other writings are to be preferred, but even in divers respects not comparable. Nevertheless he asserts that it is the Spirit that must apply them for our benefit, and must still be the primary rule of Christians. He then guards against the common objection, that hereby the Scriptures are rendered useless; and shows that as they have proceeded from the revelation of the Divine Spirit in the writers, they can never be contradicted by the revelation of the same Spirit in the mind of any. He is willing that all doctrines and practices shall be tried by them; and that whatsoever any do, pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, be taken for a delusion.

In the Fourth Proposition are unfolded the views of ROBERT BARCLAY respecting the

State of man in the fall. He denies the imputation of sin to infants, on account of Adam's transgression, until they join with the seed of evil in themselves by their own actual transgression; yet he maintains that all men are prone to sin, and cannot derive, from their fallen progenitor, any power to overcome it. A seed of sin he confesses to be transmitted to all men from Adam; but he prefers to call it by the scriptural terms of *Death*, the *Old man*, the *old Adam*, rather than by the Calvinistic term of *Original Sin:* which notion he thinks has given rise to that of *imputing sin to infants.*

In the two following Propositions, the Fifth and Sixth, which are considered jointly, our author comes to show the means of man's restoration from the fall; and ably asserts *Universal redemption by Christ, and the saving and spiritual light wherewith every man is enlightened.* As it lies in his way, he begins

with some short, yet sharp, strictures on the doctrine of *Absolute reprobation*, which he successfully opposes; and proves the universality of Christ's death, and the consequent possibility of salvation to all. The author lays it down that God, who, of his infinite love, has sent his Son into the world, who tasted death for *every* man, hath given to every man a time of visitation, during which he may partake of the fruits of Christ's death. Secondly, That, to this end God hath given to every man a measure of the light of his own Son—a measure of grace—a measure of the Spirit. Thirdly, That God, in and by this light, invites, calls, exhorts, and strives, with every man, in order to save him: which light received, and not resisted, works the salvation of all; but that it may be resisted, and then becomes man's condemnation. Having thus made the co-operation of man efficient in his salvation, he guards against derogating from

the atonement and sacrifice of Christ; asserts belief in all that is recorded of him in Scripture; and that remission of sins is only by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice. The subjects of these propositions are treated of the most diffusely of any; and it is therefore proportionably difficult to do them justice in so short a sketch as will suit the present work.

Justification forms the matter of the Seventh Proposition, in which word ROBERT BARCLAY always includes the idea of *being made just*; the immediate cause of which is the *revelation of Jesus Christ in the soul*, changing, altering, and renewing the mind: and he cautions all against supposing themselves justified by virtue of Christ's death, while they remain unsanctified in heart, and polluted with sin.

The doctrine of the Eighth Proposition has been much opposed. It asserts the possibility of *Perfection in this life;* which perfection is

defined to consist in a freedom from actual sinning and transgressing God's law; yet as a state that admits of a growth, and to which also is annexed a possibility of falling. The doctrine of those who plead for the impossibility of perfection, and for the continuance in sin, during life, is opposed at length; and the perfection for which our author pleads is placed in the full bringing forth of that pure and holy birth, the light of Christ in the soul.

The Ninth Proposition respects *Perseverance* and the possibility of falling from grace. On these subjects the author's judgment may be nearly gathered from what precedes. Accordingly he is short in this part of the Apology; and his sense is, that the truth lies betwixt these two extremes, viz. the doctrine of such as affirm *that the least degree of true and saving grace cannot be fallen from;* and that of those

who deny *any such stability attainable, as that there can be no total and final apostacy from it.*

We next meet, in the Tenth Proposition, with a head on which the Society of Friends have appeared to differ more from other professors of Christianity than on most others, namely *Gospel-Ministry.* After explaining his sense of what constitutes the Church, which he defines to be the Society of such as God has *called out of** the worldly spirit, to walk in his light and life, he shows what is the call of a true minister, asserting it to be *the inward power and virtue of the Spirit of God;* and rejects the notion of succession from the apostles. Having established the call, he lays down the qualification of a minister, of which he asserts human learning to form no necessary part; but places all in the *power, life,* and *virtue* of the *Holy Spirit.* Lastly, he maintains that the true ministers should not, cannot,

* εκκαλεω.

teach for hire, and he opposes the practice of a forced maintenance; concluding with a lively comparison between the ministry for which he pleads, and that for which the opposers of our society plead. This is a very interesting part of the Apology, and teems with able arguments drawn both from the letter and the nature of the gospel.

Worship is spoken of in the Eleventh Proposition; and true worship is all referred to an inward feeling of reverence and devotion, to the exclusion of all ceremonies which may be set about in the will of man. The author nevertheless takes care to assert the necessity of meeting at stated times for worship; but that, when assembled, the great duty of all is to retire from their own imaginations, to wait to feel the Lord's presence, and to know a gathering into his name indeed; where, saith he, the secret power and virtue of life is felt to refresh the soul; from which the acceptable

worship is known, which edifies the church, and is well pleasing to God. The serious reader will probably find a secret influence engaging his mind to assent, whilst he peruses this part of the work; which certainly claims the attention of all who call themselves Friends.

The Twelfth and Thirteenth Propositions are employed on, what are termed the two sacraments, *Baptism* and the *Supper*. Baptism with water is affirmed not to be the one true baptism of Christ; which is proved to be inward and spiritual, according to the text, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost "and with fire:" and the objections of such as hold water baptism to be of perpetual obligation are answered. The body and blood of Christ, of which believers partake, is asserted to be spiritual and not carnal; and to be really enjoyed as often as the soul retires into the light of the Lord, and feels and partakes of that heavenly life by which the inward man is

nourished. The arguments of those who contend for the ceremonious use of bread and wine are considered and refuted.

The Fourteenth Proposition is concerning the *Power of the civil magistrate in matters purely religious, and pertaining to the conscience.* It may be well conceived that BARCLAY here firmly asserts the unlawfulness of any attempt to force the conscience. At the same time he gives no countenance to such as, under pretence of conscience, would prejudice their neighbours.

The Fifteenth and last Proposition has for its title, *Concerning Salutations and Recreations*, though it also embraces some other objects. In it the author shows the unlawfulness, to Christians, of using flattering titles and compliments—of kneeling, prostrating, or bowing the body, or uncovering the head to any man—of using superfluities in apparel for ornament and vanity—of using sports, games, comedies,

our author, 'no king in the world, who can so 'experimentally testify of God's providence 'and goodness; neither is there any who rules 'so many free people, so many true Christians: 'which thing renders thy government more 'honourable, and thyself more considerable, 'than the accession of many nations filled 'with slavish and superstitious souls.

'Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adver-'sity. Thou knowest what it is to be banished 'thy native country; to be overruled, as well 'as to rule, and sit upon the throne: and, 'being oppressed, thou hast reason to know 'how hateful the oppressor is both to God 'and man. If, after all these warnings and 'advertisements, thou dost not turn to the 'Lord with all thy heart; but forget Him 'who remembered thee in thy distress, and 'give up thyself to follow lust and vanity; 'surely, great will be thy condemnation.

'Against which snare, as well as the temp-

'tation of those, that may, or do, feed thee 'and prompt thee to evil, the most excellent 'and prevalent remedy will be, to apply thyself 'to that light of Christ which shineth in thy 'conscience, which neither can nor will flatter 'thee, nor suffer thee to be at ease in thy sins; 'but doth, and will, deal plainly and faithfully 'with thee; as those, that are followers there-'of, have also done.

'God Almighty, who hath so signally 'hitherto visited thee with his love, so touch 'and reach thy heart ere the day of thy visita-'tion be expired, that thou mayest effectually 'turn to him, so as to improve thy place and 'station for his name. So wisheth, so prayeth, 'thy faithful friend, and subject,

'ROBERT BARCLAY.'

From Ury, the place of my pilgrimage, in my native country of Scotland, the 25th of the month called November, in the year 1675.

For some years previous to the publication of the Apology, Friends and their adversaries had been engaged in controversy; and our author, from his retirement, had viewed the contest, and had had leisure to observe the misrepresentations of fact on which some of their adversaries' censures rest; as well as to weigh the ſtrength of the objections which they brought againſt what they did not misrepresent. He came forth, therefore, at length, the more fully prepared to enter the lists himself. That he did so in a most able manner, the generally good reception of his book, when first published, and its uniform and continued reputation, down to the present day, sufficiently demonstrate; and the important light in which it was viewed by those who were averse from the doctrines which it establiſhes, namely the stipendiary teachers, is evident from the

number of them who endeavoured to controvert it.*

The next piece in order of time † is 'Universal Love considered, and established upon 'its right foundation: being a serious inquiry 'how far charity may, and ought to be extended towards persons of different judgments 'in matters of religion; and whose principles 'among the several sects of Christians do most 'naturally lead to that due moderation required: writ in the spirit of love and meekness, for the removing of stumbling blocks 'out of the way of the simple, by a lover of 'the souls of all men.' The author first gives an account of his own experience on the subject; and then endeavours to state and demon-

* As Brown, 'Quakerism the pathway to Paganism;' Bajerus, prof. of divinity at Jena; Holthusius, a preacher at Francfort; Reifer, a pastor at Hamburg; Keith, 'The Quakers' Standard Examined; Bennett, 'Confutation of Quakerism,' &c. Chubb, 'Examination of 'Mr. Barclay's Principles,' &c.

† It is to be observed, that John Whiting's Catalogue of Friends' Books, pp. 5, 6, 7, is followed; not the series in Truth Triumphant.

strate the nature of Christian love and charity; how consistent therewith is true zeal, and the distinction of the latter from false, persecuting zeal. He then states his subject anew, as it respects the different divisions of Christians; showing that their accordance or discordance with universal love, is to be drawn from the nature of their principles, and not from the practice of particular persons among them. Thus much being premised, he examines the principles of several denominations, and finds them defective, and discordant to the principle of universal love; as Papists, Protestants in general, and Socinians. Lastly, he lays down some principles of Christianity which do well agree with true universal love. The reader may easily suppose that these are the principles held by Friends; and he will find the piece to be an able recommendation of those principles, and an exposition of them in an amiable light. An edition of this work has been printed so

late as 1800; but the first was in 1697, the year in which it was written, while its benevolent author was himself suffering from the want of universal love, being a prisoner at Aberdeen.

I have already hinted at the books which were written by way of reply to the Apology. One of these, namely, 'Quakerism the pathway 'to Paganism,' had been printed before the publication of the first English edition of the Apology; and was the means of prompting ROBERT BARCLAY to hasten that edition to the press, that the public might have the whole controversy before them. He afterwards thought proper to give his adversary's book a more particular answer; which was published in the year 1679, under the title of 'R. B's. 'Apology for the true Christian divinity vindi-'cated from John Brown's examination and 'pretended confutation thereof, in his book 'called Quakerism the pathway to Paganism:

'in which vindication, John Brown's many 'gross perversions and abuses are discovered, 'and his furious and violent railings, and re-'vilings soberly rebuked.' It is common in controversy for authors to charge their opponents with railing; and the reader may think that our author, in his title page, has fallen into that hacknied road. He makes good, however, his charge in his introduction, where he says, 'Men use to be sober and moderate that write 'controversies, in the beginning at least, and 'not seek to prepossess the reader with preju-'dice against their adversaries, until by the 'strength of their reason they have proved them 'to deserve it; but this man is so full fraughted 'with malice, and so in love with railing, that 'he cannot forbear the first page, where we 'have him calling us "Locusts, of whose "ministry the devil makes use, only masculine "in malice against Christ—breathing forth "nothing but that putrid poison, that innate

"serpentine venom," &c.* This is a specimen of the spirit with which our early Friends had to contend; but, though it must be confessed that some of them (whether from the provocation they received, or from sharp language being the temper of the times) gave too much into it themselves, yet the reader of BARCLAY'S writings will not probably be disposed to think that he has fallen into that common error. In the book in question our author follows his adversary through the following divisions of the subject. 1. The true ground of knowledge. 2. Inward and immediate revelation. 3. The Scriptures. 4. Man's natural state, and original sin. 5. Reprobation, and universal redemption. 6. Possibility of

* The perusal of this excited a curiosity to look at Brown's epistle to the reader; in which, the first words that took the attention, were 'Runagad Quaker,' and these were found to be the conclusion of the following string of epithets, 'This God-daring, Christ-blaspheming, 'Spirit-despiting generation, of the prodigiously profane and arrogant sect of Runagad Quakers.'

universal salvation; universal grace; necessity of the light to salvation; the salvation of heathens. 7. Justification. 8. Perfection. 9. Perseverance. 10. Ministry, wherein of Womens' preaching. 11. Silent worship, &c. 12. Baptism. 13. The Lord's Supper. 14. Liberty of conscience. 15. Wars and oaths. 16. Civil honour, &c.* This book, which is about the size of the Apology, has never been otherwise reprinted than in the two editions of Truth Triumphant; and the book of Brown having long since fallen into general oblivion, the 'Vindication' is little read; yet it contains that part of controversy which is the most useful part, the answering of objections; and therefore may still be read with advantage. William Penn, in his day, esteemed it highly; and says he ranks the Apology and this book in the front of BARCLAY's polemical writings. Of such writings this was the last published by

* These numbers do not correspond with those of R. B's. Sections, because there, § 1 is an introductory one.

our author; and it was not replied to by his angry adversary.

There yet remain two tracts of ROBERT BARCLAY to be noticed, the first of which he calls 'An epistle of love and friendly advice 'to the ambassadors of the several princes of 'Europe, met at Nimeguen, to consult the 'peace of Christendom, so far as they are con-'cerned; wherein the true cause of the present 'War is discovered, and means for a firm and 'settled peace is proposed, by R. BARCLAY, a 'lover and travailer for the peace of Christen-'dom.' This is a most instructive piece. Its object is to show the ground of war, and that means for promoting peace, while these grounds remain, are likely to be unstable and ineffectual; at the same time pointing the way whereby a lasting peace may prevail. It has this post-script. 'This came upon me from the Lord, 'to write unto you, at Ury in my native 'country of Scotland, the 2d of the month

'called November, 1677.' It is, though long for a letter, and probably not read by all the statesmen to whom it was addressed, short for a treatise; but it is full and clear, and it is much wished that this brief recommendation may induce the reader to give it a serious perusal. The letter was originally written in Latin, and afterwards translated and published for the satisfaction of such as cannot read the original. To the translation, printed in 1679, the following historical memoir is subjoined. 'Copies 'of the foresaid epistle, in Latin, were, upon 'the 23d and 24th days of the month called 'February, 1678, delivered at Nimeguen, to 'the ambassadors of the emperor, of the kings 'of Great Britain, Spain, and France, Sweden, 'and Denmark, of the prince-elector Palatine, 'as also of the states general, and of the duke 'of Lorrain, Holstain, Lunenburg, Osnaburg, 'Hanover, and the pope's nuncio, to wit one 'to each ambassador, and one to each of their

'principals, together with so many copies of 'the book, of which the author makes mention 'in the letter, the title whereof is "Roberti "Barclaii, theologiæ veræ Christianæ, Apo-"logia; Carolo secundo, Magnæ Britanniæ, "&c. regi, oblata."* This was the Latin title of the Apology, which was enlarged, as we have seen, in the English edition.

ROBERT BARCLAY'S last printed work was also the translation of a long Latin letter, which he had some years before written to a person of quality in Holland, on the following occasion. The person in question was Adrian Paets. ROBERT BARCLAY, having had some conversation with him respecting the principles of Friends, was requested by Paets to reconsider the strength of the arguments which he had adduced against BARCLAY'S doctrine. This BARCLAY accordingly did, and in conse-

* Robert Barclay's Apology for true Christian Divinity, presented to Charles 2d king of Great Britain, &c.

quence of his finding them, as he thought, the weaker the more he examined them, he wrote from his prison at Aberdeen, the letter to Paets. Some years after he met with Paets again, in London,* and, after some further conversation, the latter confessed 'that he had 'been mistaken in his notion of the Quakers; 'for he found they could make a reasonable 'plea for the foundation of their religion.' Shortly after, our author translated and published his letter in English, giving it this title, 'The possibility and necessity of the inward 'and immediate revelation of the Spirit of God, 'towards the foundation and ground of true 'faith, proved: in a letter writ in Latin to a 'person of quality in Holland; and now also 'put into English, by R. B.' This letter is wholly argumentative, and has been considered by such as have read it with attention, to be as

*Paets was then a Commissioner for the Dutch East India Company. When Barclay saw him before, he was just returned from an embassy to Spain, from the States General.

accurate a piece as was ever produced by its accurate author. Nevertheless it has much of a metaphysical cast, and is rather adapted for the learned and the nice discerner, than for the ignorant and simple; and was probably on that account the more acceptable to the person to whom it was addressed; and the more impressive on his mind.

The works of ROBERT BARCLAY were collected after his decease, and published in 1692, in a folio volume, intitled 'Truth Triumphant, through the Spiritual warfare, Christian labours, and writings, of that able and faithful servant of Jesus Christ, ROBERT BARCLAY.' It is still occasionally to be met with. An edition in three volumes octavo, came out in 1718; but this is very scarce. Should, however, the first and third volume be procured, an Apology completes the set. The English Apology itself has been printed eight

times* in London. Accordingly the London edition of 1800 is called the eighth. But there has been also a Dublin edition, and one in large quarto by Baskerville at Birmingham. There is a Dutch translation, of which there are two editions; one in Danish; one in German, of which there are three editions; one in Spanish, and two in French. The French one of 1702 is said to be so ill done as to mislead. That of 1797 may be depended on; but in any difficult case the Latin is the best means of deciding.† Of the Latin, a second edition was publiſhed in octavo, 1729, said to be 'priore emendatior.'

* Unless it may be the First Edition which has no place's name.

† In the First Edition pa. 161, the 4th pa. 243, the 6th pa. 248, there is a remarkable error under Prop. 8. Perfection. § 2. 4thly, viz. *for*, Who have *not* attained to everlasting life, *read*, Who have attained, &c.—Latin, Qui adepti sunt. The same error is in Truth Triumphant, folio, pa. 388, in the German, of 1740, and in the French Edition of 1702, p. 276. The passage is right in the 5th, 7th, and 8th, Lond. and in Baskerville's, also in the German of 1684 and 1776, the Dutch of 1757, the French of 1797, and in the Spanish. An opportunity of examining the 2d and 3d, or the 8vo Edition of Truth Triumphant, has not occurred.

Of the Catechism there is one Latin edition still extant. The last English edition in 1787, is the 12th. Of the Anarchy of the Ranters, and Universal Love, it has been already mentioned that there are editions extant.

That it would be gratifying to the writer of the foregoing account of the works of ROBERT BARCLAY, to know that it had been the means of increasing the number of their readers, is a matter of but small importance; but if, by reading them, or a part of them, any should be induced to make trial of the truths which Barclay recommends, the result to themselves may be both important and beneficial.

It is true, that the mind, especially when not much accustomed to dwell on religious considerations, is not always disposed to ad-

vert to serious subjects: sometimes, nevertheless, and particularly in youth, there are seasons when anxiety respecting the concerns of a future life will take possession of it; and disturb the joy, which the pursuit, and the acquirement, of the pleasant things of time are wont to afford.

Happy is it, that these interruptions are experienced: for they contain the offers of greater and more permanent pleasures. And let it be recollected that, on such occasions, religion comes for the very purpose of bringing balm to the soul, and of alleviating its burthens; not for that, of oppressing it with greater ones.

The restraints of a religious life are indeed sometimes irksome; though principally, at the entrance, and less as we proceed; but in proportion as the mind is willing to suffer a sense of its weaknesses and wants to remain upon it, without seeking relief from dissipation (taking

that word in its limited, and least offensive meaning), it will the less feel those restraints to be irksome, because it will know them to be the harbingers of more perfect freedom.

In this state, a review of the experience of those who have more largely tasted of both the bitter and the sweet of a religious life, who have both borne the cross, and felt the consolation, of Christianity, will be at times a delightful recreation; and, although ROBERT BARCLAY deals more in argument, than in narrative, yet his writings contain plentiful encouragement for the sincere traveller, through the temptations of time, to the rewards of eternity.

These writings also deserve particularly to be commended on this account, that they bear full and ample testimony to Christ,—the sure refuge of the weary soul: and it should afford, to the most feeble, if persevering, Christian, a hope of reaching that sure refuge, when it is considered that his Lord hath declared alike

for the least, as for the greatest servant in his family, "Him that cometh to me, I will in "no wise cast out."

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W. Phillips, Printer.]

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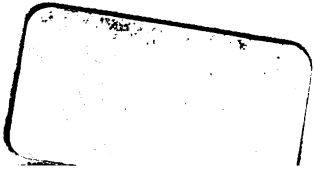
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